

NEGRO LIBERATION

A Goal For All Americans

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Introduction

By HENRY M. WINSTON

Life is proving an old thesis developed by the Communist Party during the thirties, namely, that the Negro question in the United States is the touchstone in the struggle for democracy in this country. It is no longer an academic question whether the fight for democracy will proceed first by way of solving the Negro problem or whether the Negro question has to wait until the problem of democracy as a whole is solved for the entire country. What is now becoming clear to growing millions is the fact that the achievement of equality for the Negro people is the key in the struggle to defend and extend democracy for all.

The fight for integration takes place now in a new setting. The main characteristic of this period is the mass involvement of the Negro people in the struggle to achieve first-class citizenship. Of greatest importance in relation to this is the fact that white democratic Americans are increasingly entering the battle. Support is being given in varying degrees and with varying levels of consciousness by religious, fraternal, civic and trade union organizations.

At the same time, the difficulties of the struggle produce moods of pessimism which see the period ahead as one of "hopelessness" or of the "bloody collision between races." Why are there such moods? They flow from a lack of confidence in the ability to win white masses and a failure to understand the absolute necessity of Negro-white unity which would consciously develop the fight for equality and freedom. Such unity is the main link in the fight to

advance the freedom movement further, which would in turn help to defeat all moods of pessimism.

The problem before all democrats is to win the support of the white masses in the fight for equality. This is a struggle to raise the consciousness of the white workers, indeed of all white democratic Americans, as to the oneness of the needs of the nation in general and those of the Negro people in particular.

This is a struggle which should have a three-pronged aim. First, to enlist fully and on a higher level the active participation of the growing legions of white Americans who support the struggle for equality and freedom. Second, to assure at least the neutrality of the millions of white Americans who are rejecting in practice white supremacist ideologies, but are not yet prepared actively to support the struggle for equality and freedom. (At the same time, it is clear that the first step of breaking with the Dixiecrats can be most effective if this awakening consciousness eventually leads to *active* support to the freedom struggle.) Third, through the active participation of the first and the neutrality of the second, united with the labor and people's movement as a whole, to isolate the Dixiecrats and bring about bigger advances in the fight for civil rights.

Victory will not come without such a united fight. Frederick Douglass made this clear many years ago when he said that power concedes nothing and never will. History proves that when unity between Negro and white was achieved, advances were made on the whole front of struggle.

The record of our Party in the struggle for Negro rights offers many lessons which are instructive at the present juncture. Our Party understood that trustified industry could be cracked only if unity of Negro and white was achieved. This fight was successful and all the basic industries—steel, automobile, rubber, electrical, maritime and others—were organized. The open shop was replaced by collective bargaining. The trade union movement made big advances in the fight against speedup, low wages and discrimination against the Negro worker. The purchasing power of labor in general, and of the Negro community in particular, was increased. An effective foundation was laid from which could develop the struggle

for general social improvement of the working class and the whole people. Negro-white unity was able to extend the struggle from the economic sphere to the political arena, and played a major role in mapping out a progressive program under the New Deal.

Just think what this lesson means in terms of organizing the four to five million organizable workers in the South. The immediate effects of such organization would spill over into the political field. It would lead to guaranteeing the right to vote and replacing the Dixiecrats with democratic representatives from the ranks of the Negro and white masses.

This kind of unity expressed itself in the fight for the unemployed. It was our Party which led the struggles for relief, against evictions and for unemployment and social insurance. An outgrowth of this struggle is the existence today of some measure of social security, of pensions and unemployment compensation.

It was our Party which correctly understood the frameup of the nine Scottsboro boys and was able to show that these innocent victims of Bourbon "justice" symbolized the oppression of an entire people. In their defense the Party was able to rally the support of millions of Americans and tens of millions of people throughout the world, and so was able to prevent the electrocution of these boys. By correctly pressing this struggle, the Party was able to rally popular support in the fight against grandfather clauses, poll taxes, lily-white juries, lynchings, sharecropping and the whole system of Jim Crow oppression.

These are but a few examples of the Party's valiant and courageous efforts in defense of Negro rights. These earlier struggles have played a great role in helping to advance the freedom struggle to its present status. The problem is to define the main link and the levers needed to use them properly to guarantee that these glowing battles for freedom are victorious.

Negro Freedom Is In The Interest Of *Every* American

By GUS HALL

Nothing is more powerful than an issue which the processes of social development have placed for decision. Its resolution can no more be prevented than can the rising of the sun.

In 1776, such an issue was independence for the colonies. And independence was won. In 1863, it was freedom for the slaves. And slavery was abolished. The victory in each of these momentous struggles was assured by the fact that great numbers of Americans, even though they did not fully grasp the significance of the issue at hand, were nevertheless compelled by their own self-interest to join in the battle.

In our day, a central world issue that has come up for decision is the ending of imperialist oppression of peoples and nations. And today the world system of colonialism is already in active disintegration. In our own country, the key issue placed on the agenda for resolution *now* is the eradication of the system of segregation and discrimination practiced against 20 million Negro Americans. Just as the United States could not have progressed without the people resolving in their day the questions of independence and emancipation, so we cannot move ahead now without putting an end to a system that keeps 20 million of our citizens half slave and half free.

For the destruction of this system of discrimination and segregation is in the most fundamental self-interest of the great majority

of Americans. It is crucial to the preservation and extension of democracy. It is vital to the working class in its economic struggles. It is a question that influences decisively the relations of the United States to the rest of the world. On its resolution rest the moral and ethical standards of our people, for a people cannot tolerate the national oppression of 20 million of its citizens without a corresponding corruption and warping of its moral standards.

Our most basic self-interest as a nation, therefore, calls for a national coalition and a united crusade which will put an end to a system that blocks all progress, corrodes all human relations and warps all moral standards.

Ten Years of Struggle

It is ten years since the Supreme Court declared school segregation illegal and unconstitutional. Since then there have been hundreds of other court decisions. Millions of Americans—Negro Americans and many white Americans, tens of thousands of the clergy, hundreds of thousands of youth—have marched, sat-in, demonstrated and picketed, gone to jail and suffered beatings and the pain of cattle prods, all in the struggle for minimum human decency and equality. Men, women and children have died as heroes and victims of this struggle.

But after all these militant struggles, what are the results? There have been positive results, and not to see this would be wrong and a disservice to the struggle. Many of the solid walls of segregation and discrimination have been broken down. There has been some progress in every area of struggle. But progress has been painfully slow and limited, and to fail to see the stubbornness of the resistance to the resolution of this issue would also be a disservice.

In the southern states the main pillars of this evil system still remain. And the refusal of city and state governments in the North to take measures against de facto segregation of schools testifies to the resistance to any real breakthrough there.

The question is: what force is it that so stubbornly resists and obstructs the peaceful, non-violent resolution of this question? What

are the roots of the tenacity with which this evil system hangs on?

Its basic source is not the open, active opposition of the masses of white Americans. Thus, in the South the violence and terror unleashed against the struggles of the Negro people have been primarily the work of the police, not of white mobs. While a substantial sector of the white population is afflicted with outright racism, the majority do not offer active, violent resistance of a kind which would explain the slowness of progress in the struggle.

This resistance flows rather from the fact that the system of discrimination and segregation against Negro Americans is imbedded in the very fabric of United States capitalism. It has been, and is today, the policy of every major corporation in America. Jim Crow is the creation of big business.

Consider, for example, the following rather typical situation reported from a midwestern steel mill, as I described it on a previous occasion (*Which Way U.S.A. 1964?*, New Century Publishers, 1964):

There are no Negro women workers in the offices. There are no Negro bricklayers, pipefitters, millwrights, boilermakers, carpenters, plumbers, machinists, engineers or metallurgists. There is one Negro foreman—in the sanitation department. Most of the Negro steelworkers are in classes 1 to 4. These are the unskilled departments. Most white steel workers are in classes 5 to 11.

The shops have a system of seniority. When layoffs take place, anyone with a higher seniority can bump men in classes 1 to 4. Because classes 5 to 11 are the skilled categories, the system of shopwide bumping does not apply there at all.

When Negro steelworkers take a test for a higher-rated job, they are not shown the results. The management merely tells them they failed to qualify.

This system of special oppression is a tool of capitalism to squeeze maximum profits from the labor of *all* who toil. It is an instrument for maintaining in the halls of Congress, and in state and city legislative bodies, reactionary blocs of anti-democratic, anti-

labor and anti-Negro politicians. It is an effective device for keeping the working class divided against itself. White supremacy, the ideological foundation of the system of discrimination and segregation, is a central pillar in the ideology of U.S. capitalism.

In short, these roots are imbedded in U.S. capitalist economics, capitalist politics and capitalist ideology. It is this that explains the stubborn persistence of this pattern of discrimination.

What stops U.S. Steel or General Motors from putting an end to the system of discrimination practiced in every one of their plants? Very simply, it is that this system is profitable. This is its purpose. It keeps workers divided. It helps to keep all of the less skilled workers in the hardest jobs, with the lowest pay. A not insignificant part of the two billion dollars in profit that General Motors is making this year is made possible by this system of discrimination.

Who in Birmingham, Alabama are the masters of the economic complex that is the basis for the whole system of inequality and discrimination? It is U.S. Steel and other corporations like it that dominate the scene. If these corporations were to discard their policy of discrimination, very quickly the very nature of the struggle would change in Birmingham.

Big business moves plants to the South because there workers can be hired at lower wages. In February, 1964, the average hourly pay for production workers in the South was \$1.83, compared to a national average of \$2.43. In Mississippi it was \$1.75, in contrast to \$3.07 in Michigan.

The cause of these lower wage scales is obvious. The system of Negro oppression reduces the wages of *all* workers, Negro and white. And as long as the Jim Crow system keeps the working class in the South divided, wage scales will remain lower.

The special oppression in the South affects the jobs and wages of white workers in the North. It affects those who are left on the relief lines when the plants move south. There, ironically, they find themselves united with their Negro class brothers. In many instances the wages of northern workers are kept down, and sometimes they are even cut, through the use of threats to move plants to the South. In other ways as well, the existence of lower wage

scales in the South acts as a drag on the wages of workers throughout the country, and the ultimate cause is the Jim Crow system which pays lower wages to Negro workers.

Working-class unity and organization of the unorganized in the South will become possible only when the white workers in the South and the North understand that this system is the product of big business's drive for profits at the expense of all, and that their self-interest as workers lies in putting an end to it. White workers who support the system of oppression, whether actively or by their neutrality, actually support big business and are acting against their own self-interest.

That the root of Jim Crow lies in big business is further demonstrated by the huge sums it passes on to every kind of racist organization. A series of articles appearing last year in the UAW publication *Solidarity*, on the subject "How Big Business Finances Right-Wing Extremists," speaks of a "sinister network of subversive racists, hate peddlers, anti-labor extremists and neo-fascists" and says:

Acting as "angels" for these lunatic fringe extremist groups are a large number of "respectable" and well-known Big Businessmen. These highly-paid corporation executives form a virtual "interlocking directorate" for many of the ultra-Right-wing groups, providing unlimited funds and the necessary facade of respectability.

Among those listed are present or former executives of such corporations as General Electric Company, Sun Oil Company, Jones and Laughlin Steel Company and the notorious Kohler Company, heads of southern textile mills, former presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers, and numerous others. That is why these outfits, which are both racist and anti-labor, never suffer for lack of money.

The Ultra-Right Coalition

At stake in the resolution of the civil rights issue is everything progressive, all the past gains made by our people. The stubborn

resistance by the forces of reaction to its democratic resolution is creating a unification and a further growth of the ultra-Right reactionary coalition. The aim of preserving the evil system of oppression of the Negro people, with its vicious ideology of white chauvinism and racism, is now bringing together all of the most reactionary, bigoted and fascist-tainted organizations and movements in the country. The nuclear war maniacs, the rabid anti-labor crowd, the anti-democratic, pro-fascist gangs, the professional anti-Semites, the anti-Communist racketeers—all are now gravitating towards a unity with the Dixiecrat White Citizens Councils, the KKK and their ilk, thus forming an evil alliance which menaces all that is progressive in our land.

Here is a polarization of reaction, a crystalization of an evil alliance that can open the gates to fascism. And open racism flows through all their veins.

Each of these groups has its own reactionary goal. Each calculates that the civil rights issue will demoralize and paralyze enough people to create the opening through which it can ride to power, just as in Germany the various reactionary groups gravitated around the fanatical anti-Semitism and anti-Communism of Hitler fascism.

This cabal emerged as the organizer and the shock troops of the campaigns of Alabama's racist Governor Wallace in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland. Most of the Wallace-appointed electors were members of the Birch Society. Every possible pro-fascist group joined in, including many of the reactionary refugee groups. The anti-labor corporations financed the campaign. The Nazi groups financed the goon squads. Wallace furnished unsurpassed demagoguery. Each group made its contribution to the evil alliance, whose ultimate aim is the destruction of democracy in our country and the resort to nuclear weapons in an attempt to plant the iron heel of U.S. imperialism on the neck of all mankind.

This reactionary coalition, which is the main force behind the Goldwater campaign, now controls the Democratic and the Republican parties in the southern states. It controls the Republican Party in the Rocky Mountain states. It has made serious inroads on the councils of the two parties in other states. This develop-

ment makes the menace of the ultra-Right all the more imminent.

Here is a new challenge to the democratic forces. How it is met has both immediate and long-range significance.

Just as the resistance to civil rights brings together the evil powers of this coalition, so the support for the victory of civil rights can bring together the democratic forces of progress. Reaction has forced the civil rights issue into the very center of the struggle for the democratic future of America.

To the extent that the forces of this evil coalition should be successful, how would the self-interest of specific groups of Americans be affected?

1. *Democratic rights.* The 80% disenfranchisement, the use of electric cattle prods and vicious dogs, the brazen acquittal of the murderers of small children, the lynchings, the rapings, the cynical destruction of all democratic rights now prevalent in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and other southern states, will become the pattern for all of America. Just as these states have now set up large concentration camps for those who fight for civil rights, so will the Federal government, if it falls into their hands, set up such camps for those who fight for civil liberties, for peace and for higher wages.

2. *Trade unions.* The union-busting policies of the southern states, the anti-union policies of the corporations who now finance the ultra-Right, the anti-labor "right-to-work" state laws that these reactionary groups now promote—all this would become the law of the land. The Landrum-Griffin and Taft-Hartley Acts were concessions to these forces. Their avowed purpose, if victorious, is to cut wages, speed up production, eliminate all hard-won fringe benefits, and permit the big corporations free rein to use automation to destroy jobs and working conditions.

More than this, their victory would threaten the most elementary democratic rights of unions, won in long, bitter struggle. In the pamphlet *Equal Rights For All*, AFL-CIO President George Meany says:

... Unions were created to fight against injustice. They were instruments of protest, deplored by public officials and much of

the citizenry. They were often accused of flagrant civil disobedience.

For example, many trade unionists no older than middle age can well remember when local ordinances or court injunctions forbade the holding of a union meeting, even on private property owned or rented by the union. The "right of the people peaceably to assemble" often had no local standing, despite the Constitution.

Today the denial of such rights to the Negro people in the South fighting against injustice is all too common, as in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where Negroes were driven out of their own church with tear gas and fire hoses. But equally important is the fact that elementary rights of unions are to this day also grossly violated in the South.

For example, at the 1961 AFL-CIO Convention, delegate John Chupka of the Textile Workers Union told of the use of traffic and trespass laws in South Carolina to arrest union organizers for distributing leaflets. He told of beatings of organizers and others by company thugs and the subsequent arrest and conviction of those beaten on charges of "inciting to riot," citing dozens of such cases in North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

This is happening in the South *now*, not a generation ago. And it is a direct consequence of the system of oppression and persecution of the Negro people. If the evil coalition could have its way, this would happen to unions throughout the country.

Clearly, therefore, *the struggle for civil rights is also a struggle for the rights of labor.*

3. *Social Security.* Most of these groups are publicly opposed to all phases of social security. They are against old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, veterans benefits, etc. Thus, one of the first acts of the Right-dominated state legislature in Wyoming was to cut unemployment compensation. *The struggle for social security is thus inseparable from the struggle for civil rights.*

4. *World Peace.* To the extent that this reactionary coalition is successful, its openly proclaimed advocacy of nuclear war will become national policy. General Walker is only one of the mili-

tary maniacs who are at the heart of this ultra-Right crystalization. The unity of the fanatical pro-nuclear war forces and the racists in the struggle against civil rights *has thus made the struggles for world peace and for civil rights indivisible.*

5. *Poverty.* The same bigoted forces that have united to preserve Negro oppression are equally united against any and all measures to fight poverty. Because so many of those forced to live in poverty are Negro Americans, to fight poverty is to fight discrimination. It is to fight the evil coalition. *Jim Crow and poverty are twin products of capitalism.*

Meeting the Challenge of Reaction

How is this grave challenge to be met? Some argue that Negro Americans should slow down, that they should not rock the boat by moving so fast. Some say let us keep things as they are. These are counsels of defeat. The one reality, on which all Americans must take a stand, is that the system of Jim Crow *must go now*, and is going to go now because its time has come. To compromise with it in any way is to compromise with the very foundation of the evil coalition that menaces our country. The Jim Crow system is like a disease-carrying swamp which surrounds us and which, if not removed, will destroy us.

The civil rights struggle, therefore, is a central arena of battle. It has become inseparably joined with the entire struggle for progress. It cannot be by-passed. It must be resolved.

How is the fight to be waged? A good attitude is, of course, to be welcomed. But good attitudes alone do not win battles. The experiences of the last ten years prove once again that progress results only from militant mass struggle. Therefore, if white Americans are to meet the challenge of Right-wing reaction, they must start by actively taking part in the civil rights struggle. This is in their own basic self-interest.

The struggle takes many specific forms. There is the attempt to strangle the Civil Rights Bill in Congress, an attempt only recently blocked by the cloture vote in the Senate. Some people become greatly disturbed over sit-ins as a means of protest against discrimination. Yet in the Senate there is a small group of racist

bigots, illegally elected, who have been able repeatedly to stop the machinery of the highest elected body of our government. And this is generally regarded as an accepted feature of the legislative process. The cloture vote must be the forerunner not only of passage of the Civil Rights Bill but of the complete elimination of the Dixiecrat sabotage of the democratic process.

There is also the struggle to desegregate the public schools. It is in the self-interest of white parents to join with the parents of Negro children to fight together for a system of integrated schools of a caliber that measures up to the demands of this nuclear age. There are the struggles for housing, for lower rents, for repairs, for open occupancy.

These are all very important arenas of struggle for equal rights. But the crucial arena is the struggle for jobs and equal job opportunities. It is crucial because there the two sectors of our people who are the key elements in the struggle for progress—the Negro people and the working class—meet. The two are natural allies. A large section of our working class consists of Negro workers, and a very high percentage of the Negro people are members of the working class. Hence there is a large area in which the self-interest of both converge.

A path to the realization of these mutual interests must be found. Toward this end, it is necessary to put the question of jobs into proper perspective. It must be viewed within the following broader framework:

1. Because it is based on securing maximum profits at the expense of the earnings and living standards of the workers, and because the introduction of technological improvements is always designed to get rid of workers, capitalism inevitably tends to create a mass of jobless workers. Unemployment is a built-in feature of capitalism.

2. U.S. capitalism has always had a policy of discrimination. It has been applied against the foreign-born, against Jews and against Catholics. But this is relatively minor compared to the extreme degree of discrimination against Negro Americans. The Negro workers have been the last to be hired, and have been habitually confined to the hardest, dirtiest and lowest-paid jobs.

3. In the hands of big business, automation spells disaster for millions of workers. But in the first place it displaces unskilled workers. Therefore it has been above all the Negro workers who have been laid off. Automation, controlled by big business, has only multiplied the effects of discrimination and has become a weapon for racism.

4. After scores of years of working without protection of any kind, the workers in basic industry organized unions. After decades of militant struggle, these unions won a measure of job security. This was a big step forward for the working class. But the union contracts were superimposed on the results of hundreds of years of anti-Negro discrimination, and they inherited the evil effects of this employer policy. In fact the unions, in many cases inadvertently, became the protectors of these effects. This is exactly what the corporations want. They sit back, manipulate the strings and watch the workers fight one another. All this adds to their huge profits.

The Need for Adjustments

The most urgent task for the unions is to find ways through which the workers can separate that which is in their interests from the results of the corporation policies of discrimination, which is only in the corporations' interests. The starting point must be the understanding that the Negro Americans and the working class are not enemies, but are natural allies who must have the closest unity in struggle for their mutual interests.

The main obstacle to such unity has been the stubborn resistance by some union leaders. True, the AFL-CIO has declared: "The AFL-CIO is for civil rights—without reservations and without delay." And: "In the labor movement even a little discrimination is too much." (*Equal Rights for All*, AFL-CIO Publication No. 133, 1964.) But such statements must become guidelines to action, otherwise they become demagoguery in fact.

The trade unions face a serious problem of working-class unity. The victims of automation become disappointed in unions when these fail to take on their fight. The young generation sees the

unions as being unconcerned with their inability to get jobs in industry. Nor can the Negro workers who are suffering discrimination and layoffs, enthusiastically support unions if they do not take up their fight.

This adds up to a big problem. The solution, clearly, is a militant, united struggle for all these sectors of labor who are the direct victim of the policies of capitalism. To lay the basis for such a struggle, it is necessary to recognize the need for making certain adjustments.

For Negro and white workers to fight over the existing jobs is no solution. But for white workers to refuse to make adjustments to offset the effects of a hundred years of discrimination at the hands of big business, to refuse to make adjustments for a condition they inherited, is to close the doors to united struggle on all issues in the interests of all workers—Negro and white. For the unions to be the guardians of the corporation policy of discrimination is to be a pallbearer at the funeral of labor unity.

What kind of adjustments need to be made?

1. The perpetuation of the present inequality in employment must be fought by forcing the corporations to hire Negro workers to replace all those who retire or pass away. This is not a total solution, but it would be an important beginning. While seeking for further solutions, this would set the stage for Negro-labor unity in struggle.

2. Adjustments need to be made in the application of the seniority system. This would not destroy the system; adjustments have been made in it before—adjustments in the interest of employment of veterans or promotion of younger skilled workers, and in some unions to permit hiring of skilled refugees. Once there is agreement on questions of adjustment in hiring and upgrading, then there can be a united struggle for demands of mutual interest, such as a shorter work week, lowering of the retirement age, longer vacations, cutting down on speedup, more rest periods, control of automation, etc. These struggles would in turn become the avenues of further steps toward ending the inequalities suffered by Negro workers and raising the standard of living of the entire working class.

A working class thus united would then be in a position to raise a further question: Should not the corporations that make billions of dollars in profits each year be forced to disgorge enough of those fabulous profits to provide jobs for all who want to work? And if the corporations will not take on this social responsibility, then should not the government be forced to tax these huge profits and use the proceeds for creating useful employment? These proceeds, added to the 50 billions which can be transferred from war production, would provide ample funds for a broad program of building schools, roads, housing, hospitals, conservation and power projects and other job-creating and needed public works.

Thus does one step lead to another. But the first step must be a readiness to fight for adjustments to overcome the effects of Jim Crow.

Fighting the Ideological Poison of Racism

The big business ideology of bigotry is like a poison gas, deliberately designed to incapacitate all opposition. Like such a gas, it distorts reality and brings on a state of confusion. A friend appears as an enemy, an enemy as a friend.

Nowadays we read stories of witchcraft with disbelief. But is not the witchcraft of racism, if anything, more fantastic? Moreover, while the old witchcraft affected hundreds, the witchcraft of racism affects millions.

U.S. capitalism took over the fostering of the ideology of white supremacy from the slave masters and the ideological upholders of slavery. They have refined and further developed it, and have made it more subtle and penetrating. Its purpose is to imbue masses of white Americans with race hatred by creating in them the illusion that they are superior. In this ideological stupor they become instruments of oppression of other people whom they consider inferior—in this case the Negro Americans.

Under the influence of this ideological drug, their own lives of toil, debt and hardship in comparison with the lot of their Negro neighbors, seem somehow transformed into a superior existence. While they rant against their neighbors with black skins, they

temporarily forget their own empty cupboards and lack of security. In such a state of mind they cannot distinguish their real oppressor—the oppressor of both Negro and white workers. Through the action of this ideological drug, big business, which exploits both Negro and white, which is the source of the bigotry, becomes the enemy forgotten.

Not all are affected to the same degree by the poison of white chauvinism. The spectrum runs all the way from the rabid racists to those who are for civil rights but do nothing about it.

The struggle against this poison will be a protracted one. Its effects will disappear by virtue of the experiences gained in struggle. But even then it would be an error to think that it will disappear automatically. An essential weapon against the influences of chauvinism is education and discussion. We will free ourselves from the influence of this witchcraft only through struggle, through experience—and through education.

If the roots of the system of discrimination and segregation are deep within the profit system of capitalism, is it possible to eliminate Jim Crow before capitalism is discarded as the out-moded system that it is? As the stubborn resistance to civil rights continues, this question is asked more and more often.

Of course, it is not possible to dig out all of the roots while capitalism exists, since the evil is inherent in the very nature of capitalism, which constantly generates pressures for its revival. But it is possible to sever many of the roots and to destroy offshoots and branches even while the tree of capitalism still stands. Hence victory over Jim Crow is a realistic goal now. In this sense it can be said that the time for resolution of this issue has arrived. Otherwise, one would have to wait for its resolution until the time for socialism has arrived in the United States—a time which clearly is not at hand now.

Secondly, can larger sections of white Americans be gotten to take an active part in the civil rights struggle even before they become freed from the poison of white chauvinism? The answer is very definitely "Yes." Most white Americans will be impelled to participate in the civil rights struggle because they see their own self-interest riding on its resolution, even while they continue to

be influenced to one degree or another by the ideology of white chauvinism. This is why serious leaders must seek out and explain the areas of convergence of self-interest.

When the question is placed in these terms, it may jar those who look upon such matters from a viewpoint of idealism or romanticism and who see the issue simply as a moral one. They suffer from what Marx and Engels described in *The German Ideology* as "the old illusion that it depends only upon the good will of people to change existing relations and that the existing relations are only ideas." (Quoted in *Reader in Marxist Philosophy*, Howard Selsam and Harry Martel, eds., International Publishers, 1963, p. 280.) But this overlooks the material basis of the struggle. It is precisely because they see their own self-interest involved that these workers, in the process of fighting for civil rights, will develop a new and higher sense of class unity and class consciousness, new moral and ethical standards and a new sense of ideals that will take the place of the old influences of bigotry and chauvinism.

Americans of Puerto Rican origin, Mexican-Americans and the inhumanly oppressed American Indians have all been stirred into action against their own oppression by the civil rights struggles of the Negro Americans. They have become convinced of the possibility of gaining allies amongst Negro Americans, trade unions and other progressive forces. All these movements start on the basis of their own self-interest, but they are already moving into alliances with other sections of the population, and in the scope of their struggles they are going far beyond the narrow limits of that self-interest.

Such is the logic of all mass struggles. One must view these struggles in terms not only of where they stand at a given moment but also of where the logic of struggle will lead them.

The advice Karl Marx gave the American people one hundred years ago following the Civil War is still valid and very much up to date:

If you fail to give them citizens' rights while you demand citizens' duties, there will yet remain a struggle for the future

which may again stain your country with your own people's blood. We warn you, then, as brothers in the common cause, to remove every shackle from freedom's limb, and your victory will be complete. *Minutes of the First International*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 311.)

It was also Marx who said: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." (*Capital*, Vol. I, Modern Library Ed., p. 329.)

The winning of a life wherein all of our people will have full equality comes up for achievement at a new moment in the history of mankind—at a time when the development of science and technology has made a world without want or the fear of want a realistic possibility. The material base for a world without want can also be the basis for a world without wars, without bigotry or prejudice, without oppression of individuals, peoples or nations—a world where at long last the practice of man's inhumanity to man will be no more.

The obstacle to the realization of this goal that is within the grasp of humanity is capitalism. Big business in its greed for maximum profits is the one great hurdle civilization must overtake before it can proceed to a world finally free of want, oppression and wars. The new social order that has discarded the greedy motive of private profit is socialism. One-third of the world's people are now building this new society.

As the people of the U.S. unitedly struggle against poverty, insecurity, Jim Crow and war, they will eventually arrive at a point where they too will decide to discard the evil system of monopoly capitalism and will reorganize our country's economic life along socialist lines. With that act, we will have joined the mainstream of mankind's march to a better life.

Building A Negro And White Alliance For Progress

By CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Negro Americans in their overwhelming majority have sought and are seeking unity with their white brothers and sisters to prevent America from following a disastrous path in foreign and domestic affairs. They have resisted forces which preach the doctrine of the separation of the races. The Black Muslim movement, which was the most potent force in this regard and which at one moment was becoming quite powerful, shows signs of having reached a peak and is now on the decline. But simultaneously with the growing decline of the Muslims, there is a growing lack of confidence among many important civil rights forces, especially youth, in the ability to win white masses in their great majority to support the civil rights struggle. This feeling in large part accounts for some of the tactics being employed in certain struggles. Having little confidence in greater participation of whites, and facing a white ruling class, both North and South, which is resorting increasingly to acts of terror, many youth see the answer only in greater acts of individual militancy, in acts of disruption, rather than in mass mobilization.

What follows is therefore directed mainly to those who have lost or are losing confidence in the ability to involve white masses in the fight. In this regard, we shall discuss:

1. Why the past fifteen years have witnessed greater strains between Negroes and progressive white forces, especially labor.

2. Some guidelines that can be drawn from historical experience.
3. Objective conditions which will facilitate the possibility of enlisting greater white support.
4. Some new trends of white support already discernible.
5. Negro and white unity at the polls in 1964.

The Decline of Negro-Labor Unity

Negro-white unity, especially Negro-labor unity, reached high points of development in the thirties and forties. As a consequence, nationalist movements of a separatist nature, which had been quite powerful, faded into insignificance. The most harmonious relationship existed between the leadership of the CIO and the Negro community. The labor movement and certain outstanding liberal personalities often took initiatives for Negro rights and did not wait for the Negro community to lead. In 1954, when the United States Supreme Court issued its historic decision on school desegregation, a process of change in relationships was under way. Qualitative changes took place within the Negro and labor movements. The Negro movement became more militant while the labor movement was becoming more conservative.

The Negro movement, largely influenced by the world-wide revolution, especially the gaining of freedom by former colonies in Asia and Africa, as well as joining the struggle to make real and meaningful the Supreme Court decisions, leaped from a stage of gradualism to revolutionary heights. It placed on its banner the objective of total freedom. The Negro people's movement was no longer satisfied with this or that minor concession. It placed revolutionary demands and goals and now measured everything, including former allies, from this premise. Even within the movement itself new leaders emerged and old ones had to recast their molds to fit the image of the present period. Thus has the Negro movement been advancing since 1954, step by step into a revolutionary force.

While this process was taking place in the Negro movement, the labor movement was undergoing certain changes which made

it a more conservative force. Compositional changes in labor robbed it of much of its militant character. An examination of what took place in the ranks of labor regarding the Communist issue and its subsequent effects on the civil rights struggle should be made by all those who are sincerely dedicated to that struggle. It is a well known fact that those labor forces which were purged from the CIO, namely, the Left-led unions, had the best records in advancing labor's participation in civil rights struggles and were the best mobilizers of the white masses. At one time these unions embraced over two million members of the CIO and many of their civil rights actions tended to spark the whole of the CIO which, in turn, acted as a prodding agent upon the AFL and therefore on the whole labor movement. The purge of Communists and the raiding and destruction of some Left-led unions left the most conservative forces within labor with a free hand to withdraw more and more from the struggle. Thus, the anti-Communist virus reduced white participation in the struggle for civil rights.

Another change within labor which adversely affected white participation was the merger of the AFL and CIO. This merger, widely heralded as the means through which a united labor movement would throw its weight into the arena of struggle, fell far short of its mark. It was not the merger *per se* which caused the change, but the capitulation of the more liberal elements who, without a Left wing to prod them, gave up too much to the more reactionary elements.

However, compositional changes in labor which had negative effects could not have been carried out without a certain atmosphere existing in the country. The cold war, a relatively high level of prosperity for some, and McCarthyism were the prime reasons why the more conservative elements in labor could carry out their will and policies.

In this regard, perhaps the economic situation was central. American imperialism, by virtue of its almost complete removal from wartime devastation, emerged from World War II with huge financial assets and resources with which to bribe. They not only bribed regimes overseas to guard so-called "American interests," but they likewise had the dollars with which to make concessions to

certain strata of workers and were thereby able to curb **their** militancy.

It has long been a policy of monopoly capitalism in general and American capitalism in particular to create an aristocracy of labor. In these postwar years, these cold war years, the American aristocracy of labor was broadened considerably, and now includes many classifications of industrial workers. During the past fifteen years labor has won at the bargaining tables demands which formerly would have required the most bitter strike struggles. However, the wage and other concessions have been geared to benefit most skilled and certain semi-skilled occupations, workers in armament industries, etc. The tendency has been to use concessions to separate a declining number of regularly-employed workers from an increasing army of unemployed, to separate whites concentrated in better-paid jobs from Negroes concentrated in the lowest-paid industrial jobs, and to increase the gap between the main segments of the industrial proletariat and the super-exploited, non-industrial workers (agriculture, southern lumber, many service trades, certain light industries). This last also involves a white-Negro split.

This economic situation, and the ability of industry and government to control their concessions in the ways described, tended to rob the unionized industrial workers of their militancy. The workers negotiated successfully in this period not only wage increases but many welfare plans which in many instances supplemented government efforts with the result that there was a decline in pressure for welfare programs upon government.

Take, for example, the 1956 elections. Eisenhower was returned to office with the largest plurality since the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936. Yet, during his administration there was not a single advance in appropriations for welfare purposes. Adlai Stevenson, his opponent, campaigned around a program of "Working Papers" which embraced many of the concepts of the later "New Frontier" of John F. Kennedy. Yet, despite this relatively forward-looking program, Eisenhower made significant gains in working-class areas.

As a consequence of conditions where Negroes became more militant and white workers more conservative, friction began to

develop in the House of Labor itself between Negro workers and union leadership, including George Meany. This brought about the birth of the Negro American Labor Council and increased friction between unions of the AFL-CIO, and the NAACP.

Because of these factors, objective conditions were not too favorable for developing maximum Negro-white unity.

A Clearly-Defined Direction Is Needed

Nonetheless, the Negro masses waged unprecedented heroic battles to secure their rights. Having to fight almost single-handed or with minimal white support, the Negro now, in summing up his advances, is very dissatisfied. His heroism has resulted only in token gains, and it is generally conceded that on the basis of the past tempo of progress, it will take another hundred years to secure freedom.

The most graphic illustration of this situation is the progress made in school desegregation. In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that the school system should be desegregated with "all deliberate speed." Today, the records show that at the present tempo it will take another hundred years to carry out that decision. According to Whitney Young, executive head of the Urban League, only 9.3% of Negro students have been integrated. In the deep South only 30,798 Negro students have been integrated out of a total of 2,901,671. The struggle to integrate schools in cities like New York, Cleveland, Chicago, etc., is proving as difficult as in the deep South.

Lack of substantial progress after ten years of militant struggle is evoking on the one hand a closer inspection of the nature of the system we live under, with a greater awareness of what will be required to put an end to Jim Crow, and on the other a growing lack of confidence in the ability of whites to rise to historical necessities.

Those civil rights forces who are becoming frustrated and do not see the possibilities for achieving Negro and white unity lack a clear conception of what is required to put an end to Jim Crow. It is, therefore, incumbent upon more conscious forces to present

a clear, comprehensive strategic and tactical outline of things that will be required. For the movement today proceeds in a pragmatic fashion from one issue or struggle to another around specific issues and general slogans.

Let us take, for example, the slogan "Freedom Now!" Negro youth have embraced this slogan with a zeal and determination to see it through no matter what the cost. In this respect, they have advanced the whole movement forward from a gradualist to a revolutionary position. But to embrace such a slogan is not enough. Above all, one must know at least in broad outline what one must do, and what the objective situation is regarding the possibility of achieving the goal. Unless this understanding is also present, those who fight so hard today may become frustrated and lose confidence tomorrow.

It is in the light of preventing any such demoralization that the leadership is being called upon not only to present slogans but to show a general determination. For by now it should be crystal clear that the Negro's desire for freedom and Negro militancy, while they are important aspects of the fight for freedom, are alone insufficient to obtain it. A successful struggle for freedom requires a combination of subjective and objective factors. At each stage of struggle both must be examined to determine what it is possible for the movement to achieve at a given moment.

Lessons of the Civil War

The period preceding the Civil War, and the Civil War period itself, contain many lessons for today's struggle. These rich lessons should be extracted and made available to today's young Freedom Fighters. For many of them proceed as if all life has just begun.

Let us therefore make a cursory examination of this period. History teaches us that prior to the Civil War Negroes waged an heroic struggle against slavery. Even while in chains on slave ships they mutinied and many committed suicide rather than submit. Countless numbers of slave rebellions took place. But they did not, nor could they, put an end to slavery.

The Civil War period shows that the fate of the American nation as a whole, at certain critical points, is bound up with the fate of its black citizens, and conversely that the fate of black America is bound to that of the nation. This historical truth can be considered a law of social development in the United States. Failure to reckon with this law can be as harmful as is a failure to reckon with a law of nature.

The causes of the American Civil War lay in the conflict between the interests of the northern capitalists and those of the slave owners of the plantation South. It was a struggle between two social systems, one based on slavery and the other on free labor. Sooner or later these two systems had to clash. The industrial system of the North represented the forces which could and did advance the nation to higher levels of social development. The slave system in the South represented an outmoded and obsolete system which in the main had long before ceased to be a major formation of society. It was a throwback of several centuries, and was incompatible with the rising young industrial system of capitalism.

The Northern capitalists needed state power in their hands to protect their class interests, to defend manufacturers by raising the tariff on imported goods. At the same time, the Southern slaveholders saw that a high tariff was against their own best interest. Consequently a bitter battle ensued in the Congress as to which force would be in control. Basically, one system had to triumph over the other. But for almost thirty years Northern political forces, with the exception of the Abolitionists, sought to appease the South on the issue of slavery. It was as axiomatic in 1832, as it was in 1863, that the slave system was incompatible with the further expansion and progress of the nation. Yet it took this long for the leading forces of the North to recognize this fact.

The Path to Emancipation

As a result of Southern initiative, the war broke out in 1861—not over the issue of slavery—but over the extension of slavery. The war was fought for two years before Lincoln recognized that

it was impossible not only to advance the nation, but even to save the nation, without freeing the slaves. The evolution of Lincoln's position on this issue has deep meaning for the civil rights struggle of today. Those who say that racism is so deeply ingrained in whites that they never will support the fight for civil rights should give heed to it. Listen to these words from the lips of one who was later to become the Great Emancipator. On August 24, 1855, he said:

I will say here . . . that I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so and I have no *inclination* to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black race. There is a physical difference between the two which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together on the footing of perfect equality. And inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I as well as Judge Douglas am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. (*Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, published by Lincoln Memorial University, 1894.)

Taken out of historical context, these could very well be the words of a Wallace or a Barnett today. But let us listen to Lincoln again. In his letter of August 22, 1862 to Horace Greeley, who criticized him for catering to the slaveholders, he said:

. . . My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union. . . . If I could save the Union without freeing the slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 16.)

But eventually there came a moment when it was impossible to evade the issue any longer. The issue of death to slavery finally assumed its proper place alongside that of preserving the Union, and Lincoln, to explain his change in attitude, wrote to F. B. Carpenter on February 6, 1864, as follows:

It had got to be. . . . Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of the rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 1.)

Finally, in summing up what had been done after issuing The Emancipation Proclamation, in a letter to A. G. Hodges, dated April 4, 1864, Lincoln said:

. . . When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. . . . (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 67.)

He wrote further: "*I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.*" (*Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.)

There are profound lessons in these utterances of the Great Emancipator. They show above all that the decisive factor in historical and social change is the role of social forces. Individuals play a role, but in the circumstances of the times Lincoln achieved immortality because he eventually was able to muster the courage to do what history required him to do.

White Americans must draw the inescapable conclusion that two years of unnecessary bloodshed was caused by the failure to understand the interrelationship of the issue of slavery to the progress of the nation.

Black Americans must learn that powerful historical forces are on our side and that there is no need for frustration or despair, for such social forces are so powerful that they are capable, sometimes overnight, of changing attitudes and positions which have existed for centuries. And a case in point is the evolution of a Lincoln and the forces he led.

In this respect, let us gain inspiration from the words of Stephen Vincent Benét in his poetic work *John Brown's Body* (Rinehart and Company, 1957). He wrote:

Sometimes there comes a crack in Time itself.
Sometimes the earth is torn by something blind.
Sometimes an image that has stood so long
It seems implanted as the polar star
Is moved against by an unfathomed force
That suddenly will not have it any more.
Call it the *mores*, call it God or Fate,
Call it Mansoul or economic law,
That force exists and moves.

And when it moves
It will employ a hard and actual stone
To batter into bits an actual wall
And change the actual scheme of things.

The Civil War also teaches us that isolated slave rebellions were incapable of achieving a solution. But when the nation faced a crisis, and other forces were propelled into struggle against those who held us in bondage, the objective conditions to end slavery were created.

Today's Crisis

What is the situation today in America? Do we face any kind of a crisis comparable to the Civil War which can impel the great mass of white Americans into the fight to end the Jim Crow system? It is our contention that we do face such a crisis, namely, the grave constitutional crisis emanating from the ultra-Right threat and the Goldwater candidacy.

Today forces in the United States other than the Negro movement are being forced into the general arena of struggle. And as these struggles reach a broader level, they will create favorable objective conditions for ending Jim Crow and will lay the basis for changing the situation which has prevailed in the labor movement for the last ten years. With these changes the possibility of building a Negro-labor alliance which will represent the hard

core of a general people's coalition will grow. Such an alliance is a precondition to putting America back on the highway of social progress. It is a precondition to ending the Jim Crow system.

The primary reason for these changes is the economic situation.

Our economy, notwithstanding high levels of industrial production, faces difficult problems. If these are to be solved or eased without major setbacks and crises, some basic political changes will be necessary.

As matters stand now, the possibility of averting a large scale thermonuclear war is a realistic goal. If this process continues—and there is every reason to believe that it will do so despite the efforts of powerful Right-wing forces to stoke the fires of the cold war—then our country will have to adjust the economy to the pursuit of peacetime objectives.

This places before us major, alternative courses. For we must bear in mind that the economy has grown and been maintained for a quarter of a century largely on the basis of war production and imperialist expansion. Now, under the impact of international developments and a growing American peace movement, the perspective exists that United States imperialism will be forced to accept substantial disarmament, a radical decrease in military production and a greatly reduced power to engage in international bullying to win markets and spheres of investment for United States monopolies.

Already the struggle is shaping up over the course of adjustment to that new situation, with a lineup developing which bears some though by no means exact, resemblance to that of the New Deal period.

The big monopolies, by and large, favor using the financial savings from disarmament for more tax and other concessions to themselves, supposedly to stimulate investments for economic growth but really to enlarge their profits. While fearful of the political effects of mass unemployment, they are reluctant to accept the reduction in their profits implicit in measures to reduce it. The working class and its organization, especially the industrial unions, are proposing a marked increase in public construction,

a vast expansion of educational opportunities, housing, etc. They also call for radical improvements in mass consuming power through increased and universally applicable minimum wages, a shorter work week, improved social security, etc. Already the demands go far beyond those of the New Deal, and the logic of events may push demands to a decidedly higher qualitative level than has been hitherto known in this country.

It is in this struggle over the choice of alternative courses that the best possibilities exist for cementing a firm unity between the Negro people's movement and the trade unions; for it is here that they have common goals, and there is consciousness of this community of interest on the part of the leadership of both groups.

At the same time we must always bear in mind that the struggle for New Deal-type concessions and full employment *alone* will not end Jim Crow and bring freedom. This struggle must be combined on every issue with one for special measures for integration, for special concessions to the Negro masses to help overcome the built-in discrimination and segregation already existing. That this is required is proved amply by the failure of the New Deal reforms or wartime full employment to win major breakthroughs against discrimination and segregation. The struggle to combine freedom demands with New Deal-type demands must be carried on both at the shop and in the political arena, both through unions and political parties.

This struggle over the course to be followed is not awaiting the actual occurrence of disarmament. The issues are already becoming urgent. Despite peak production and a relatively high level of prosperity, all agree on the widespread existence of poverty and deprivation. According to the Conference on Economic Progress, headed by Leon H. Keyserling, two-fifths of the nation live in poverty or deprivation. This involves roughly over 77 million Americans. This problem in itself is enough to challenge the imagination. Add to it the problems posed by automation and technological change, with the rapid wiping out of whole sectors of employment and skills, and the picture becomes even graver. According to some estimates, we must find two million jobs each year for the next ten years merely to stand still.

New Challenges

True, poverty, deprivation and unemployment are not so severe as during the 1930's, but they must be measured and will be measured by the masses themselves in comparison with the rest of the world. Increasingly, the United States is in competition with other sectors of the capitalist world—growing faster, having less unemployment and providing more social benefits—and with the Soviet Union.

Our country, which has been the main showplace of world capitalism, will face a serious challenge from the Soviet Union in providing a better living standard for its own people and also in assisting more backward areas to achieve a better life. The Conference on Economic Progress took note of this possibility in one of its publications, saying:

The Soviets have been concentrating more than we have upon the industrial sector and upon science and education because in view of their relative underdevelopment these matters have come first. But in the years shortly ahead their challenge will extend to the production of consumer goods and to many other matters. If we continue to be highly selective and limited in our choice of goals, responsive to the Russia of yesterday rather than to the Russia of tomorrow, we shall wake up some day and find ourselves being outdistanced in the rate of advance in living standards, in the rate of reduction of poverty and deprivation. (*Poverty and Deprivation in the United States*, 1962, p. 11.)

Thus American capitalism faces an economic situation in many ways more complex and historically more critical than that facing Franklin D. Roosevelt thirty years ago.

To cope with this situation will require mass struggles such as we have not witnessed in the last twenty years. It will require a reinvigorated labor movement in the first place, for the necessary economic measures will transcend by far all that was done under the New Deal. Indeed, most of these problems will not be solved fully until our country is organized along socialist lines.

Meanwhile, such measures as reduction of the work week, controls over the private sector of the economy, nationalization of some industries, rebuilding of many of our cities, wiping out slums and providing adequate health centers will require almost a political revolution in America. An idea of what we are up against is already discernible in a Congress which after three years has failed to enact a medicare bill. Our Congress quibbles over a billion-dollar appropriation proposed by the President for the war against poverty, when everybody knows that a billion dollars is only a drop in the bucket if one is serious about tackling the problems of poverty.

A general program to tackle our economic problems will require an aroused public and labor movement. It will require a political change in government. And it is in a setting such as this that the objective conditions will become favorable for a serious breakthrough against Jim Crow. These are some of the elements which have been missing in the past and which are now maturing. Of course, such developments will not come in one fell swoop but only as a process, and will probably engage our attention through this and the next decade.

Let us bear in mind that if the Jim Crow system can be smashed in the next ten years, this would be a realization of the slogan: Freedom Now! For this would represent a revolutionary change from the present tempo, which would require another hundred years.

White Support Mounts

In the last year we have witnessed an increased mobilization of whites to counteract pressures exerted by civil rights forces. State and city police have been used to make some of the most savage attacks against demonstrators that we have seen since the early thirties. White demonstrations against desegregation have been organized in northern cities, especially in New York and Chicago around the housing and school situations. Governor Wallace from the Dixiecrat South has come North for the purpose of rallying white support against the civil rights program. His votes in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland have been widely in-

terpreted as an indication of powerful white opposition in the North as well as in the South against Negroes getting their rights.

That things would develop along this line should have been obvious. For there is a well known axiom that revolution begets counter-revolution. These acts of terror against Negroes, these frantic efforts to demonstrate white opposition are part of a great upsurge of pro-fascist developments. These forces pose the problem of a growing constitutional crisis and represent a threat to the liberties of all Americans.

But despite the ultra-Right racist activity, 1963 ushered in greater white participation in the civil rights struggle than we have witnessed since the almost forgotten days of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Granted that such participation is still inadequate, the important thing is that there is a growing trend among whites actively to do something about civil rights. This trend should inspire all with hope for it is beginning to assume mass proportions.

New trends and developments do not spring up overnight but grow over a period of time. The present level of the Negro liberation movement did not spring up suddenly. This movement, which was initiated by the Montgomery bus boycott, has been ten years in the making. It has grown successively from one stage to another, from the boycott at Montgomery to the sit-ins, walk-ins and freedom rides, and to the mass demonstrations in 1963. It started in the South, and only last year, seven years later, did the northern Negro communities respond in a mass way.

White participation is likewise going through a process. For example, in 1960 the students in the South launched the sit-in movement. This movement had a tremendous impact upon the country as a whole. Yet the active forces were mainly Negroes and white student youth from the North and South. In 1961, when the freedom rides took place, white adult educators and clergymen were among the active forces.

In 1963 there was a qualitative shift in white participation in the civil rights struggle.

Early in that year there was held in Chicago a national conference called "The Conference on Race and Religion." It repre-

sented almost all religious faiths and denominations. Its main purpose was to enlist Christian participation in the civil rights struggle. Some day historians may well record this event as a turning point in white mobilization for civil rights. This conference, whose participants represented over a hundred million people, made one of the most forthright declarations regarding Jim Crow and segregation that has been heard in the country. In regard to the inadequacies of the Church, it declared:

Even worse, we have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social and private life. And worse still, in our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions and fraternal organizations, we have failed our own religious commitments. With few exceptions we have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of the faiths we represent.

We repent our failures and ask the forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended.

We call for a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil.

The general tone of statements such as this signalize a break with gradualism. The conference also made strong appeals for the Church to set the example by putting its own house in order. It called for an FEPC program for all church institutions.. This is being carried out in an exemplary fashion in the Catholic Church in the Chicago area, where Cardinal Meyer has sent out directives calling for job integration of Negroes in all Catholic churches, schools, hospitals and other institutions.

The Conference on Race and Religion called upon all Christians to participate at the community level with other forces working for civil rights. Since the conference was held, religious forces in many communities throughout the country have joined in the various struggles. Perhaps the high points have been the fight to pass a civil rights bill. Only recently over four thousand religious leaders gathered in Washington in support of the bill. There is ample evidence that a revolution is taking place inside

the church movement of America. True, progressive elements are encountering strong resistance. Nonetheless, the weight of the Church is being felt in every aspect of the civil rights struggle. This progressive reaction in the Church is not coming any too soon, because we are facing a moral crisis in the United States which is comparable only to the decline and decadence of the Roman Empire almost two thousand years ago.

There have also been many signs of change in the ranks of the labor movement, although not nearly as pronounced as in the Church. In 1962, relations between labor and the Negro movement stood at one of the lowest levels since the formation of the CIO. The NAACP, the ILGWU and the United Steel Workers were locked in a battle over discrimination within these unions. The NALC was still regarded by George Meany as an unnecessary evil, and the prospects of a Negro-labor alliance became dimmer and dimmer.

But in 1963 some changes began to take place in the labor movement. First of all, there was general recognition of the NALC as a necessary force in the house of labor. A declaration was made by George Meany and other labor leaders calling for cleaning out Jim Crow inside labor. This was significant even though, notwithstanding this declaration, progress is still much too slow.

Secondly, the Industrial Union Department, which comprises the old CIO unions, emerged as a more potent force in the civil rights struggle. These unions actively supported the March on Washington. It is generally estimated that over 40,000 trade unionists participated. If this estimate is correct, this was the largest labor delegation that ever went to Washington for any purpose.

Finally, one sees at the various labor conventions a concern for seriously improving labor's participation in the fight for civil rights. Especially is this true in regard to the UAW which in the past was a very potent force in civil rights struggles. The resolution it adopted at its recent convention augurs well for the future. Among other things it said:

Our union joined with nine other civil rights organiza-

tions which sponsored and organized the historic March on Washington for jobs and freedom. We have pledged our resources to this cause and we have marched with men and women of good will in protest appeals from Mississippi to Detroit and New York. We have worked to open new horizons of job opportunities for Negroes and other minority group members in our union, in the labor movement as a whole, and in the nation. We have pressed the national administration for maximum advancement of civil rights.

Given a few more positive approaches such as the UAW's, even George Meany will be forced to change his attitude and carry out some of his pious declarations.

A further indication of trends toward Negro and white unity was uncovered by *Newsweek* magazine which in 1963 combined its forces with the Harris poll in a survey of the Negro revolt. This poll was conducted on a very scientific basis and I think its findings are as accurate as we can probably get. In regard to white attitudes, it revealed some interesting things.

On the one hand, it shows that racist attitudes and white chauvinism were widespread. Thus 66% of all whites questioned thought Negroes "tend to have less ambition," and 60% thought they "smell differently." But in regard to their views on Negro rights, the picture is quite different. No less than 93% thought Negroes should vote in elections, 88% that they should have unrestricted use of buses and trains, and the same percentage that they should have equal job opportunities. Especially striking is the fact that in the South the corresponding figures were 88%, 75% and 80%—a great majority of southern whites.

The poll also shows 63% in favor of the civil rights bill nationally, and in the South nearly one-third. On a national scale, 71% approved of the use of federal troops at Little Rock and 65% of their use in Mississippi. In the South the figures were no less than 44% and 35% respectively.

These figures reveal that notwithstanding continued chauvinist attitudes, most white Americans are in favor of Negroes having their rights. What is particularly significant is the percentage of

white Southerners supporting the use of troops to enforce court decisions. These figures are of far more significance than the Wallace votes in the North.

In Wisconsin and Indiana, Wallace registered about one-third of the vote in the Democratic primaries. Even if we were to accept this vote as an anti-civil rights vote, it would not compare with the fact that over a third of the white Southerners polled supported the use of troops and almost two-thirds supported the rights of Negroes to the ballot, to jobs and to decent housing. These trends in the South indicate that the old South is breaking up and that the Dixiecrats' days are numbered.

Tasks for 1964

To drive the Dixiecrats from seats of power in the South and the Federal government, and from the policy councils of the Democratic Party, is the number one political task which must be accomplished before this nation can once again ride on the broad highway to social progress.

With this in mind as an immediate strategic goal, let us now define this task in the conditions of 1964.

In 1964 it will not be possible to drive the Dixiecrats from the seats of power. It is possible, however, to defeat them and their political counterparts in the North so decisively that conditions following 1964 can become very favorable for eventually eliminating them from the power structure. Achievement of this goal requires that the broad masses of Americans understand and react to the dangers posed by the forces surrounding Senator Goldwater, who is succeeding in merging the Dixiecrat South together with Birchites and so-called conservatives into a united force. This coalition is making a concerted drive for his nomination and election to the Presidency. But this is not the only objective of reaction in 1964.

What then do they hope to achieve? No doubt they hope to maintain and strengthen the coalition in Congress of the most reactionary forces from both the Republican and Democratic

Parties. No doubt they want to gain reactionary control of the national apparatus of the Republican Party. Above all, their strategy seems to call for a political climate that will pressure more liberal elements into acceptance of reactionary policies. Their longer range goal is evidently an American equivalent of fascism.

From the foregoing, it should be clear that progressive forces, Negro and white, should be working with immediate and longer range goals of their own in mind. The immediate goal should be, first, to register a decisive defeat for the more reactionary presidential candidate or at least the candidate surrounded by such elements. The times call for an electoral victory comparable to the great progressive wave which elected F.D.R. in 1936. That victory laid the basis for the enactment of the legislation embodied in what is now known as the New Deal. Social security and old age assistance, the Wagner Act, the Wages and Hours Act and other such laws—these were the by-products of that campaign.

The outlook should be, second, to reduce substantially the number of congressmen and senators who are committed to the bipartisan alliance which throttles all progressive legislation, and third, to elect a large number of more dedicated fighters for labor, civil rights and peace.

Finally, the next chief executive of the United States must be mandated to place the full power of the Federal government behind the efforts of the valiant civil rights fighters in the South. Unless this is done, we cannot move to the next stage of development.

The Kennedy Administration, which many regard as the most advanced administration on civil rights, never really committed the full power of the executive branch of the government to the protection of these fighters. A few years ago, several civil rights organizations combined their forces to carry out a massive registration drive in the South. But their efforts fell short of the mark. This was due mainly to the failure of the Federal government to use all weapons at its disposal to protect those in the South who were organizing the drive and those who wished to register. Conditions must therefore be created to make it possible to carry out this task after the 1964 campaign.

But in regard to this issue and all others, we cannot base ourselves on any of the presidential hopefuls. Only an aroused and united people's movement is capable of forcing through advances such as we have been discussing. The civil rights organizations and movements face a gigantic task in this regard.

Politics and Struggle

There are a few ideological obstacles in the way, retarding the full mobilization of the Negro potential at the polls in 1964. The full potential of the Negro vote, like the rest of the American electorate, has never been fully realized. But for a people who have advanced so far in militant struggle, advancement in political action should likewise be observable.

The first task in realizing a greater participation of the Negro electorate is to overcome a certain apathy or lack of comprehension of the relationship of good politics to the civil rights struggle. The years 1963-64 witnessed a wave of militant mass demonstrative actions in most of the major northern cities with large Negro populations. These actions in many instances embraced a great majority of the Negro citizens. Especially was this true in the school boycotts in New York, Chicago, Cleveland and other places.

How to translate this general enthusiasm, militancy and determination into meaningful forms of political action is a most serious challenge for all civil rights fighters. Already negative voices are being heard. While they do not represent majority opinion, nonetheless they can retard the fullest utilization of political action to back up civil rights demands. Examples of these negative approaches are to be found among some young people and even some more experienced leaders in Chicago and Detroit.

In Chicago, certain young civil rights fighters who led two successful boycott actions involving a repudiation of the old line Negro Democratic politicians, later challenged these politicians in a primary election. These young people were challenging one of the most powerful political machines in the country. They ran one of their number for Congress against Congressman William L. Dawson. They polled some 26,000 votes as against 45,000 for Dawson.

By any standard of measurement, this was a tremendous advance in the political understanding in the South Side community. Never before has there been such a substantial number of Negro Democratic voters voting against the Dawson machine. When one takes into account that the campaign represented only a handful of politically inexperienced youth, with no money, and practically no organization, the results are all the more impressive.

Yes, despite this great advance, negative voices are being heard calling for a boycott of the polls in November. The failure to defeat Dawson and the arrogant role of the local white Democratic leaders have inspired this mood. These young people feel hemmed in. On the one hand they see the Republicans following racist patterns, and in the local situation the Democratic city, county and state officials stand as the main obstacles in securing their just demands. Admittedly, this is a complex problem. But that is all the more reason why it cannot be answered by "simple" solutions such as boycottism.

Boycottism is a subjective reaction. But politics is a science. Those who would be free must study and act like scientists. The choices in politics are seldom absolute, and there are times, because of major overall considerations, when secondary although important considerations must be deferred until a later date.

Civil rights forces in Chicago, in their understandable desire to strike back at the Daley machine, should not adopt courses of action which could be detrimental to building up a coalition of power nationally, power which at a later date could be helpful in meeting the local situation.

In the Detroit area, the Freedom Now Party seems to have struck some roots. This organization, too, was born of frustration and seeks short cuts and gimmicks as a solution to basic and fundamental problems. The rationale behind this movement is to punish the Democratic Party, which is largely supported by labor and the Negro masses. Some argue that the withdrawal of support from the Democratic Party is a necessary condition to force this party to take a more vigorous stand for civil rights. We Communists believe that a precondition for basic change in our country is the building of a genuine pro-peace, pro-labor, pro-civil rights

party. We are not certain what form such a party will eventually take. Meanwhile, we must deal with things as they are while looking forward to changes in the future.

The Democratic Party presently is the main vehicle through which labor and the Negro people's movement engage in political action. There is nothing in the cards which would suggest that great masses of workers, black and white, are about to leave the Democratic Party. And since this is the party of those masses who must form the hard core of any broad people's alliance or any new people's party, it is necessary for all advanced politically-thinking people to help the masses find immediate solutions right where they are. Some of the Freedom Now Party forces call for abandonment of the Democratic Party for the purpose of transforming the Party. We Communists agree that the Democratic Party, as presently constituted, is not and will not be sufficiently responsive to the needs of the people. Hence, basic and fundamental changes in it are required. Perhaps such changes can be achieved and perhaps not. In any case, at this time the only practical course is for pro-democratic, pro-labor, pro-civil rights forces to merge into a common front and work to isolate the reactionary elements and drive them out of the party. Abandonment of the party in the absence of an effective alternative could only lead to the strengthening of the positions of the more reactionary elements. We believe, therefore, that the boycottism expressed in Chicago and the Freedom Now Party in Detroit and elsewhere are divisive and somewhat nationalist and separatist in nature. If these policies win mass support, objectively they will only aid reaction.

Rather than for labor and the Negro people's movements to withdraw their forces at this time, the 1964 elections call for Negro and white forces to unite and struggle jointly against the reactionary elements within the Democratic Party. The 1964 elections call for them to become independent of the Administration forces on the national, state and city levels. They call for pressing the Administration and others into more advanced positions on all the vital issues of the day. They call for creating a climate which will lead to mandating whoever is elected to take new measures to advance the struggles for peace, for jobs, for equal rights, for a

more progressive America. They call for an intensification of the struggle for civil rights around specific issues throughout 1964.

Acts of violence, desperate anarchistic actions, which many foresee in a so-called hot summer, can be avoided. But this is possible only if so-called responsible leaders take the initiative and organize mass actions which will involve the millions of Negroes and whites. A good example is being set in Chicago, where a broad united front of Negro and white organizations have come together for the purpose of organizing a mass demonstration of over a hundred thousand, a demonstration whose purpose is to mount pressure for the passage of the civil rights bill.

In some circles there is a growing disenchantment with demonstrations as a form of action, but there are demonstrations and demonstrations. The main object of a demonstration is the involvement of masses, and forms of demonstration which do not produce this result should be discarded. But demonstrations based on the effort to enlist the broadest mass participation are precisely what is needed to break through the political barriers in the 1964 elections. Actions of the masses in the streets combined with wise political action at the polls can register real results in the foreseeable future.

* * *

Throughout this discourse we have discussed the nature of things to come, but the future is also conditioned by the present moment. The Negro movement, by its militancy and determination, has been one of the main sparks igniting changes in labor and other social strata. This movement must continue to press its demands and press its natural allies, such as labor which has much in common with the Negro people, into ever greater activity. Thus, in the fight to build Negro and white unity, the Negro masses must not hold back until the white allies are ready. They must press on, on, and on, but always with an understanding that while partial gains can be won by the power of Negro action alone, a fundamental solution is not possible without the broadest development of Negro-white unity in general, and unity with labor in particular. A Negro-white alliance for progress is the keystone in the arch of the struggle to end Jim Crow.

The Battle For America

By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

The Freedom Movement Is Worldwide

Negro America is locked in the most decisive and widespread battles of its hundred years of struggle for equality of rights and opportunities in its native land. It is, however, not fighting alone. Ideas of human freedom now dominate the world. The freedom fight is one of many fronts which all progressive statesmen seek at least ideologically to link together.

Africa, Asia, Latin America in varying degrees are in the throes of liberation struggles. From progressive forces in all lands, especially the lands of socialism, come moral, spiritual and material aid. From the Human Rights Commission of the General Assembly of the United Nations come resolutions categorically condemning colonialism and racism.

The social forces that still support these monstrous evils are no longer politically dominant in the world in which we live. Victory for the people can everywhere be won. America is no exception.

It is then of the utmost political significance that the leadership of the Negro movement of the U.S.A. think in terms of their affinity with mankind, and of allies at home and abroad.

To hasten the hour of victory here at home one vital step is necessary. Negro America must more dramatically and clearly reveal the inseparable relation of its demands, whether economic, political or social, to national interests, the liberation of all ex-

ploited peoples and the cause of world peace. Already linked politically by history with the liberation struggles of the world, the ideological tie that binds the freedom struggles of mankind should be welcomed and echoed by Negroes. It will strengthen their unity and deepen the moral and economic content of their struggles. This is the essence of statesmanship.

The difficulties of American reaction will be multiplied by this step. The hold of reaction on the minds of the people will be materially weakened. This course will constitute a blow at the myths of white superiority because it will give to the Negro-led movement the breadth and depth it now lacks.

Why American Democracy Bypasses the Negro

The rulers of America bypass the demands of Negro citizens with impunity. What does this say as to the character of their democracy? Democracy has no status outside of class. It cannot be given all-embracing qualities in a class society. It is parcelled out according to the interests and needs of the class in power and especially as these reflect the demands of the dominant group within the class.

This course can only be changed through the strength and struggles of opposing classes, of social forces, and the nature and objectives of their alliances. To the degree that it has been permitted to do so, capitalist America has employed democracy exclusively in its own interests. As the millions of unemployed and part-time workers prove, as the slums, ghettos and depressed areas testify, the interests of the nation have been mocked as the profits skyrocket. What concessions business tycoons have made have been dependent upon the strength and unity in struggle of their victims. This is particularly true where Negroes are concerned.

Frederick Douglass, the most outstanding Negro revolutionary of the Civil War period and an advisor to President Lincoln, said: "Power concedes nothing. It never did and it never will." His words are as true today as they were a hundred years ago. "Power" respects only the organized might of a people imbued with an indomitable will to freedom and equality of opportunity. To this, those who live by hope, harbor illusions, accept political myths, or

dream fanciful dreams about "gifts from the Gods," must be awakened.

One hundred years of monstrous exploitation, predicated on the myths of white superiority and yielding untold billions in extra profits to those who control American life, has produced for the victims lessons of inestimable value. This ought at least to be clear for all who think seriously about the nature and character of this democracy. That it has not embraced Negro Americans is no chance matter. Their historical background here, and their ethnic ties with Africa, made them most easily exploited. And that exploitation has paid the greatest cash as well as ideological profits.

On the home front American capital won other ethnic groups among the population to an acceptance of racism as a way of life through all manner of subtle bribery—through elevation to political and cultural posts, through granting white masses the luxury of unbridled terror against Negro citizens with immunity from legal prosecution, through extending to them higher wages for the same work and exclusive rights to the best jobs. Racism seemingly provided an avenue of escape into a better life. Its dehumanizing immorality was lost sight of. There were widespread religious preachments but no demands for equivalent or corresponding practices.

It is American capital, grown to monopoly proportions and imperialistic in character, determined to make this its century, that dictates the racist policies of government as well as the amount of rights labor, the youth and the aged will enjoy. When the struggle now led by Negro Americans is seen in this context and scope, then the question of whom to fight will take priority, and the questions of how to fight and who are natural allies, despite their confusion and the fact that they have succumbed to the myths of white superiority, will fall into place. When there is clarity as to who is the main enemy, the how-to-fight question will be answered by *his* strength and position.

The People's Unity

There is a key, however, to the realization in our country of a democracy reflecting more fully the interests of the people—all

the people—black as well as white. The immortal Abraham Lincoln saw this expansion of democracy as a product of the Civil War. He saw the war as completing certain historical liberation tasks, as producing a democracy realized and bulwarked through "a government of the people, by the people and for the people." Many of the tasks of the Civil War were, however, not completed. The progress of the emancipation program was stopped and the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution virtually repudiated. The Power of which Douglass spoke derived its strength from the split along the color-line.

The road to the democracy Lincoln visualized is being opened up anew. Its guarantee lies in victory of the people over those reactionary forces responsible for the ills of racism, poverty and deprivation, joblessness, miseducation and the insecurities of old age. Victory lies in unity plus relentless struggle against the powerful monopolies whose spokesmen cynically declare that what is good for them is good for America.

It lies in relentless struggle against those who front for the most reactionary of these powerful men—against the Goldwaters and Nixons, the Wallaces and Barnetts, the Birchites, the racist peddlers of hate, the evil men of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the men in office who violate their oath to deal impartially with the rights of all Americans, those whose intrigues and machinations block passage of the Civil Rights Bill.

The key to this expanded democracy is to be found in joint struggle by all segments of Americans regardless of color, creed and political belief against these evil forces. It is to be found in the unity of Negroes, regardless of class, and in the unity with their white brothers of organized labor, of the unemployed, of the peoples of the Appalachian and other depressed areas. In some instances this unity will at least momentarily break through bourgeois class lines, there being members of that group who recognize the historic necessity of giving a little for fear of losing more. It must be rooted in and promoted through the concept that what is good for these oppressed segments of our society is best for the nation.

The rulers of our country are well aware of these truths. They

are equally aware that their racist preachments and practices constitute an almost insurmountable barrier to such unity. To strengthen that barrier and continue their policy of "divide and rule" these gentlemen seek to clothe their myths of superior and inferior races, so barren of humanity and morality, in the raiment of social science. To enforce their acceptance, they both invoke racist terror against all opposition and seduce men of science to propagate the myths. Thus does the ruling class split the nation. Thus is a blind hatred generated between those whose need for unity is determined by a common oppression that differs only in degree.

A Changing World Exposes Reality

The decisive hour in the hundred years' war for American democracy looms close. Latent for years, it is now propelled to the center of the stage by liberation movements all over the world. The clash of the opposing forces is sharpened on all fronts—economic, political and ideological—by reason of the indomitable will and quest of Negro citizens for equality of rights and opportunities in all spheres of American life. Constant and increasing pressure of democratic forces, at home and from without, are causing shifts in the relations of social forces profoundly favoring those who relentlessly pursue justice under law and democracy under the Constitution.

A social upheaval is developing. The so-called civil rights front is now the major battle area. Economic, political and social conditions give irrefutable proof of what racism has done and continues to do to the whole fabric of American democracy and morality. Sharp criticism from West as well as East Europe, and demonstrations against U.S. imperialism in Africa and Asia as well as Latin America, are awakening the awareness of Americans. Life is bringing consciousness of the menacing realities of the American way-of-life to those lured into acceptance of it through a sponge-like absorption of racist myths.

The massive, relentless and profoundly moral features of the Negro people's democratic demands and their unmistakable relation to the needs of the nation alarm the rulers of America. These

gentlemen, sometimes called the "Power Structure," but more properly recognized as American monopoly capital, are no longer able to conceal their commitment to and relations with the racist terrorists, or their control over the racist policies which federal and state governmental bodies and agencies employ, to make of Negro citizens the objects of super-exploitation and to make of law a vehicle legalizing that exploitation.

One resolution after another protesting new colonialist trends which America's rulers support and the racist practices they endorse, emerges from the Human Rights Commission of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Notice must be taken of this historic fact, for herein lies an international bond of the liberation movements of progressive mankind.

Unity and a People's Victory

But the present situation does not yet reveal the hour of a people's victory. The forces making for violence are strong and deeply entrenched. There is no one who can predict that they will not succeed in throwing white and black Americans into a bloody fratricidal conflict in an endeavor to postpone the hour of their ultimate defeat. One contributing factor to this uncertainty of time is the slowness with which the masses of white America break with the myths of white supremacy. For this, criticism must be directed primarily toward that trade union leadership which has been seduced into accepting the bar-sinister of color.

In the struggles to alter democratically and peaceably the course of bourgeois democracy now led by Negro Americans, the role of Negro leadership is one of far-reaching psychological as well as political and social importance. It is changing the image, which the rulers of America have sought for three centuries to create, of a docile black man who did not recognize his responsibilities to his country and mankind but had to be guided lamb-like or as a mentally backward child. A million of these "backward children" now stand forth as Negroes, Americans, human beings determined to save themselves, their country and all affected by the destructive impact of American racism in the world.

Struggles initiated and led by Negro Americans are awakening a long dormant national conscience. The process is slow but inevitable, impelled by life and existing conditions. It makes for national unity in struggle in the interests of the nation and all citizens regardless of color, creed or political belief. Were this not the main trend, then as the Malcolm X's have said, the masses of white Americans would have to be read out of the human family. There would be no affinity, no identity of white Americans with decent mankind everywhere moving toward unity in a struggle for a people's democracy.

Labor, the church and a growing peace movement are with greater frequency giving recognition to the historic truth that the long-expressed demands of Negro Americans affect not only the community in which the violation of rights occurs, but reflect the interests of the nation as a whole. These vitally significant social groups are consequently giving increasing voice to unity sentiments as they break racist ties.

True, the implementation of their resolutions is too slow and often too narrowly applied. This slowness instills hope among racist reactionaries that all is not lost. It encourages incitement to more terror and feeds the frustrations of Negro Americans who have waited so long for this recognition. It reveals the continued hold of reaction upon those who direct affairs in these social institutions. To help accelerate this movement is the historic responsibility of the Communists.

The tempo of the development of this unity of white and Negro freedom fighters will be the determining factor bearing on the course of this battle for America, so significant to the peace and prosperity of the world. Responsibility for the quickening of the pace rests in the main upon white leaders of labor and other segments of lily-white institutions. Let there be no mistake, the burden of proof that there is a desire for an America of justice and equality rests with the white masses and their leaders.

Unity Is Not a One-Way Street

Yet since this is a battle for our country, for the rescue of our national honor from the clutches of profiteering warmongers, racists

and bigots, Negro leadership has a responsibility to greet the unity overtures of white leaders, even if belated and limited, and to make concrete suggestions for implementing these resolutions of support. These overtures cannot be summarily rejected even if they are regarded as demagoguery, which some may well be. Too much is at stake, and the rewards of unity will be victories for democracy.

Despite the almost century-old adherence of labor and white community leaders to the racist preachments and practices of the ruling class, unity has not become a one-way street. *Negro Americans must make herculean efforts to help white Americans escape from the dehumanizing mysticism of superior and inferior races if the unity demanded by history is to be realized.* This help will not be solicited, but it must be given if we would save our country.

The liberation struggle is steadily compelling changes in the thought patterns and actions of all categories of the people. That is, however, not enough. There must be a destruction of old ideas. Support by some white Americans is mingled with the thought that if the Negro-led struggle is left alone, it will go "too far." Nonsense! It is unity in struggle, the essence of which is appreciation of mutual interests, which is the guarantee as to the course of that struggle.

The Negro-led liberation movement is not a monolithic one. It has many currents, nearly all flowing to a common end—the liberation of America from the virus of racism. Where possible, these must be unified. This can only come with clarity. Some movements emerging out of a complete frustration may take a separatist course harmful to the revolutionary trend, but the strength of the others will help curb this reaction. Diversity of approach is not a crime where it does not hamper positive action toward total liberation.

Unity in struggle for an all-embracing application of the principles of democracy under due process of law, without regard to race, color, creed or political beliefs, is the price of history for a free America. There is neither substitute nor alternative for this.

American reaction, made more desperate by the exposure of its cupidity and its flagrant abuse of power at home and abroad, seeks through every conceivable device to smash the unity devel-

oping around national as opposed to imperialist interests. Through bribery, coercion, seduction, legal terror and witch-hunts, the illegal use of the FBI and the use of the anti-Communist "Big Lie," the national development of unity in struggle is made to seem unnatural, and social forces confronted by identical exploiters are tricked into regarding each other as enemies. The transition toward a broad front against monopoly and the racists is made to appear impossible.

The reality is, however, that official, legal or mob-incited lynch terror against black or white anti-racists is but the futile savagery of men who are being repudiated by life. It further exposes their bestial and rapacious nature and their unfitness to control the destinies of human beings. The terror of those who rule and those whom they incite to violence, testifies to the reactionary essence of their democracy. It gives proof that there must be democracy with a different content—a democracy of the people.

Labor Moves Toward Unity

Millions among the rank and file of labor seek this unity, but cannot or are not yet willing to break through the color bar to achieve it. Speaking of the civil rights crisis, the recent United Automobile Workers Convention, in its preamble to the civil rights resolution, quoted as follows from its president, Walter Reuther:

We in the labor movement share a heavy and unique responsibility in this crisis, for we believe that the struggle for civil rights and for equal opportunity is not the struggle alone of the Negro, but a struggle in which every American must join for the fulfillment of our 100-year-old commitments to freedom, justice and first-class citizenship for every American.

These words were impelled by the anxiety and concern of the mass of workers. This "heavy and unique responsibility" must be translated into positive action, particularly against those unions which have not yet come to recognize their responsibility.

The 1963 National Convention of the AFL-CIO said:

. . . We must set our own house in order, removing the last vestiges of racial discrimination from within the ranks of the AFL-CIO. Secondly, we must cooperate with our neighbors in the general community to assure every American the full rights of citizenship. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO, and all its affiliated national and international unions, state and local central bodies, trade departments and directly affiliated locals rededicate themselves with all their energies to the cause of freedom and equality for all Americans.

Women Strike for Peace at its June, 1963 convention passed a resolution endorsing the demands of Negro Americans and linked these with the cause of peace. They must be helped to carry that resolution into life.

Since the January, 1963 Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago, the leading church bodies have begun deeply to ponder their responsibilities to the Negro liberation struggle. They have deplored their past failure to meet responsibilities before "God and country." While their approach is at present based on the abstract immorality of Jim Crow and segregation, they are coming to see that this immorality is very concrete and flows from the cash boxes of big business.

Unity Possible

There is much historical evidence that unity of Negro and white masses is possible and nationally valuable as well. Its great value was seen in the era of Reconstruction after the Civil War when free public schools and universal suffrage were introduced in the former slave states and no color bar was allowed. Poor whites and poorer Negroes did this. This unity would be of greater value today if strenuously and relentlessly pursued on all sides and expressed in struggle against the common foe. If a consciousness of its imperative necessity is effected, the movement for a free America cannot be lost to the ultra-Rights and those who have been bought off by the racists.

Victory Lies Ahead

As consciousness grows through struggle, a greater awareness comes of what has been and is being done to national morality and the integrity of what ought to be a sovereign and free people. This growing consciousness is an absolute guarantee to the continuance, deepening and broadening of the struggle and a key to victory because it constitutes a step toward further unity.

At the head of these democratic struggles to change America peaceably are organizations led by Negro Americans. What a marvelous transformation this presents to our country and the world. Men and women whose forebears were brought here as slaves now lead the fiercest struggle in America that will ultimately realize the emancipation of mankind.

The legitimacy of the demands advanced by Negro citizens, the democratic course they carve out and follow in presenting and fighting for these demands, the fierce and criminally brutal resistance with which they are meeting, all hold lessons of inestimable value for all Americans, but especially for those who unconsciously have accepted racist attitudes and adopted racist relations. They hold lessons for the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

The intrigues and machinations of reaction, calculated by it to slacken the tempo of struggle, will instead increase both the tempo and scope. New organizations and new leaders dedicated to freedom and country will emerge. Unity will be achieved. A new ideology will be accepted. This is the logic of liberation struggles. It flows out of the lessons of struggle and the science of social development. *The movement for a free America cannot be stopped, for it is an inseparable part of the movement for a free world.*

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